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LABOR
AND
STATE
CAPITALISM

LABOR PARTY
New York
1934

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FOREWORD

The Aims, Principles and Policy of the Labor Party stand in need of no apology. The rapid ascendancy of Fascism and State Capitalism; the overwhelming and tragic defeat of the revolutionary movement in Italy, Germany and Austria; the abandonment by Soviet Russia of the revolutionary objective—all make a revaluation of the revolutionary principles urgent and imperative.

Revolutionaries have yet to realize that history is entering upon a new phase of social development characterized by the emergence of State Capitalism. Unless the full consciousness of this change is brought home to the proletariat, revolutionaries face the prospect of finding themselves overwhelmed by Fascism at a time when the working class finds itself both ideologically and materially unprepared. No greater tragedy can befall the working class than spiritual unpreparedness at a critical time when political and industrial weapons are outlawed by the ruling State. Let no worker delude himself with democratic or liberal illusions—for in proportion as the economic crisis deepens and the program of national recovery collapses, the intensification of the class struggle will precipitate the naked, coercive dictatorship of State Capitalism in this country.

During the short period still available before reaction sets in, it becomes the duty of revolutionaries to formulate a clear and adequate idea of the ultimate aim: to work out and perfect a united front of all revolutionaries against the regime of State Capitalism; to prepare the working class for the assumption of power when and as soon as a World War will bring the imperialist powers to the point of exhaustion and collapse; and finally, to reevaluate revolutionary doctrine so as to avoid the errors of the past while courageously adding new principles and policies dictated by sound revolutionary wisdom.

If revolutionaries reject this program, they will, nevertheless, be only too eager to embrace the aims, principles and policy herein embodied, when the fury of Fascism and the whip of State Capitalism will make this philosophy the only solution. *Fata volentem ducunt, nolentem trahunt.*

INTRODUCTION

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All hitherto existing proletarian parties forged by the working class functioned within the framework of present society and upon the basis of private capitalism. Their aims, principles and policies reflected that historic phase of social development. At first the working class, owing to its political inexperience, ignorance and immaturity, supported and collaborated with other classes. With increasing courage and class consciousness, the working class acquired political experience, training and discipline. Proletarian parties directed the struggle to attain control of legislation and of the state, resisting with more or less success, the depressing tendency of capitalism and pressing vigorously for the immediate economic improvement of the working class. Finally, thanks to Marxism, the proletarian parties acquired sufficient class consciousness to direct the class struggle toward the abolition of the capitalist class itself. Proletarian revolutions at first were weak, hesitant, self critical and underestimated their first attempts. Gradually with increasing clarity of aim, the working class effected the greatest revolution known to modern times—the Russian Revolution. With the Russian Revolution proletarian parties have accomplished their greatest task and brought to concrete realization the fundamental truth that the “working class cannot simply seize the available ready machinery of the state and set it going for its own ends.”

Since the Russian Revolution and particularly since the collapse of the system of private capitalism, due to its own inherent contradictions, *the conditions which govern the class struggle have so changed as to render the aims, principles and policies of existing proletarian parties ineffective. Private capitalism that constituted the integument of the organized labor movement has been retired.* Let it be remembered that private capitalism retired after having left to society its legacy of war, destitution, unemployment and human misery—unmistakable indications of its incompetency and uselessness.

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The State is now replacing private capitalism. Everywhere under diverse forms, state capitalism is transforming society into a regimented, co-ordinated, nationalistic economy. Where possible the State endeavors to effect the voluntary surrender to itself of the privileges of private capitalists; where resistance is offered, the State effects the expropriation of such power through the coercive apparatus of the State. Hence we are to anticipate the rapid assumption of power and control over every phase of economic life—concentrated and centralized into the hands of the All-Powerful State.

Experience has well demonstrated that State Capitalism does not permit or tolerate political or economic opposition. What the working class has prized so highly, political and industrial action, weapons useful in peaceful times and against a capitalist class, are the very first to be annihilated by the fiat of the State. The belief that political or industrial action can paralyze State Capitalism is one of the illusions still cherished by fools who have learned nothing from the tragic experiences of the working class of Italy, Germany and Austria.

In the face of the impending liquidation of political and industrial action of the working class, what policies should the working class adopt to serve it in its struggle against State Capitalism? The answer is adequately set forth in this manifesto.

Since our concern, primarily, is with State Capitalism in this country, a knowledge of its nature is essential in order to show that far from overcoming the inherent contradictions of capitalism, State Capitalism intensifies such contradictions.

The foundation for State Capitalism in the United States is being laid by the N. R. A. The codes formulated by the government call for the voluntary surrender of private capitalism's control over price, competition and relations with labor. The State hopes through such control to prevent other depressions, insure a higher standard of living and make possible the continuity of employment and finally effect an equitable distribution of wealth. To accomplish these objectives and still pre-

serve the profit system can only lead to hopeless contradictions. Codes, notwithstanding the inadequacy of the minimum conditions required, are repudiated no sooner than they are signed. Inconsistencies emerge no sooner than aims are formulated. The government aims "to promote the fullest possible utilization of the present productive capacity of industries" but immediately provides "that the maximum of human labor should be used in lieu of machinery." We are assured that the legislation is an attempt to "meet an emergency which undermines the standards of living of the American people." That situation does not prevent the government from setting out to limit the production of wheat, cotton, hogs, etc.—the very supply of foods so urgently needed by the masses.

In the face of the greatest interdependence existing in society today that links each nation together by the strongest economic ties, the government is compelled to set up an economic nationalism that, meeting similar national economic units, can only intensify militarism and pave the way for another world war.

To look to State Capitalism for a solution is the rankest self-deception. The inconsistencies shown above will compel the state to embark upon an ever greater coercive policy. The state will pass from mildness and persuasion to force and coercive measures. The state cannot retreat or go back to "rugged individualism" for that is impossible.

It is, therefore, to meet the new conditions imposed by State Capitalism that the Labor Party has formulated this manifesto. We are not prescribing a recipe for history. The tendencies we perceive are inevitable and are inherent in the evolution of capitalist society. Just as our revolutionary predecessors formulated aims, principles and policies to meet conditions that faced them, we are projecting aims and principles and policies to serve the working class against a specific social phenomenon—State Capitalism. *In formulating this manifesto we recognize one source of authority—the working class—which alone retains the prerogative of adopting new principles and policies in accordance with new conditions and in harmony with its moral and intellectual maturity.*

DECLARATION OF AIMS, PRINCIPLES AND POLICY
Of
THE LABOR PARTY
Adopted Jan. 14, 1934

A. AIMS

1. *We are communists; our aim is communism.* Communism is a society in which every member has an absolute and inalienable property right, in common with the other members of society, to the earth and all means of life, so that each member is free to contribute to society as much as he can, and to receive from society as much as he needs. Communism is the foundation of society, the basis of all human progress, the hope of the working class, and the destiny of mankind. Religion, morality, philosophy, science, art, industry, commerce, culture and civilization—all are communistic in origin, nature and use. For thousands of years the human race struggled to acquire knowledge, understanding and skill. With infinite thought they crystallized the truths of religion, morality, philosophy, science, art and culture; with infinite labor they brought out tools, invented machines, discovered processes, and laid the foundation for a wonderful system of production. All these infinite values and treasures they bequeathed to posterity as common property to be used by all in common. No matter when, where and by whom an idea was crystallized, a truth discovered, a tool perfected, a machine invented, or a process worked out, it is the common property of the human race, and each man is free to use it. Each idea, truth, invention or discovery grows out of and depends upon the infinite material and spiritual values and treasures which mankind produced in common, and which they possess and use in common. Destroy all

that is communistic in origin, nature and use, and human society will become impossible, and mankind will degenerate and disappear. Communism is the hope of the working class, because only in communism will the working class be completely emancipated from exploitation, oppression and degradation and become free. Communism is the destiny of mankind. The inherent historic tendency of all social evolution is towards communism. This tendency manifests itself in the mode of production which tends to become ever more communistic and in the ever-increasing social institutions that become ever more communistic. The public schools, museums, libraries, parks and the like are examples of communistic institutions. A poor man may have ten children and a rich man may have one child, yet the ten children of the poor man have the same right to the benefit of the public school as the only child of the rich man. A poor man is free to go to a public library and use the books in common with others that might have contributed much towards that library. And so it is with all communistic institutions. With time and progress these communistic institutions will increase ever more, until all social institutions will become communistic. The inherent tendency of the mode of production to become communistic will determine that the mode of distribution also become communistic. When the modes of production and distribution will become communistic, communistic society will inevitably be established. Then mankind will emancipate themselves from the domination of material necessity and become free. Only then will a human society come into existence. Because communism is the foundation of society, the basis of all human progress, the hope of the working class, and the destiny of mankind, we are communists, and our aim is communism.

2. *We are internationalists, and our aim is internationalism.* Like communism, internationalism is the foundation of society, is the basis of all human progress, is the hope of the working class, and is the destiny of mankind. Religion, morality, philosophy, art, industry, language, culture and civilization—all are international in origin, nature and use. There is not an idea,

a principle or a truth that is not international in origin, nature and use; there is not a tool, a machine or a process that is not international in origin, nature and use; there is not a thing which men use that is not international in origin, nature and use. All infinite material and spiritual values originated in internationalism and are international in nature and use. Even the special culture of a nation is international in origin, nature and use. Take away from the language of any nation all that is international in origin, nature and use, and there will not be left words enough to satisfy the needs of an infant; take away from any culture all that is international in origin, nature and use, and there will not be left enough to satisfy the needs of a primitive savage. All our present cultural, political, industrial, commercial and spiritual relations are international. All human relations are tending to become ever more and more international, until all human relations will become wholly international. Take away all that is international in origin, nature and use, and human society will become impossible, and mankind will degenerate and disappear. Internationalism is the hope of the working class, for only through international solidarity among the workers of the world will they emancipate themselves from exploitation, oppression and degradation. Internationalism is the destiny of mankind. Internationalism, as the term implies, is a federation of all nations in one universal brotherhood of man. Internationalism does not seek to destroy nationalism and the nations. On the contrary, internationalism seeks to preserve nationalism and the various nations, so that each nation should contribute its special cultural and spiritual values to the stock of values of the human race. But internationalism seeks to free nationalism from its superstitions, to free the nations from dominance and exploitation of one another, and to free mankind from struggles, wars and bloody revolutions. Only through internationalism and upon the basis of communism can mankind emancipate themselves from all social evils, injustice and suffering. Because of all this we are internationalists, and our aim is internationalism.

3. *We are creative revolutionaries.* Creative revolution is the means through which all human progress is accomplished. Mankind started their upward march in progress from a very low state of existence—a state of existence akin to that of the beast. Emerging from an unknown and indistinct background of chaos, darkness and ignorance; commencing at the zero point in experience and knowledge, without articulate speech, without the knowledge of the use of fire, without artificial tools, without any outside help, with bare hands and weak bodies, mankind fought their great battles, first for mere existence, then for more of the means of existence, and finally for human existence. They brought light into darkness, order into chaos, knowledge into ignorance, and laid the foundation for a wonderful world. They brought out and perfected human speech, they cleared the earth's surface, they tamed and harnessed beasts of burden, they exterminated beasts of prey, and appropriated for their common use the whole earth. They discovered the use of fire, they invented and perfected artificial tools, first of flint, then of bronze, and finally of iron and steel, and by means of these tools they utilized the treasures of nature to increase and improve their food, clothing and shelter. They acquired a knowledge of horticulture and agriculture, learned to spin, weave and sew; they learned to build enduring and comfortable dwellings, to make pottery and other household things for ornament and use, they attained to an esthetic appreciation of beauty in architecture; sculpture, painting and language; they crystallized ideas, principles and truths which became the foundation for an enlightened religion, a comprehensive philosophy, an exact science and a mastery over the material world. Such were the achievements of the human race; but all these achievements were accomplished through revolutions. Mankind had to destroy one form of life, of thought and of action that they might be free to bring out an ever higher form of life, of thought and of action; and, thanks to the numerous revolutions, mankind attained to their present state of progress. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, and eternal revolution is the price

of progress. This arises from the very nature of existence. Life is eternally fluid, flexible, capable of assuming ever higher material forms, and eternally strives to assume ever higher forms; but the material forms, which life assumes, tend to become fixed and hardened, and no longer capable of change. That life may continue to bring out ever higher forms of existence, it is compelled to destroy the old material forms that it may bring out new and higher material forms. *In the past, most revolutions were violent and bloody, causing infinite misery and suffering, because mankind had not consciously cooperated with life itself, because they had not realized that their progress depended upon revolutions. But, through a conscious cooperation with life, and the readiness to destroy old material forms that new and higher material forms may be brought out, revolutions can be accomplished without violence and bloodshed, and without the infinite misery and suffering entailed by violent bloody revolutions.* The material forms of present society have become a hindrance to further progress of the human race. Life will destroy them. To avoid the violence, bloodshed, the misery and the suffering that will inevitably result from an opposition to life itself, it behooves us to cooperate with life, and bring out a revolution in all material forms without violence and bloodshed. It is not the function of the working class to destroy the material forms of present society; this will be accomplished by the capitalist class that is determined to preserve the material forms of present society against the course of life itself. Therefore, the work of destruction is left to the capitalist class. The work of revolutionary creation is the historic function of the working class. We are therefore creative revolutionaries; our aim is to bring about a radical revolution in the life of mankind through creative thought and constructive work.

B. PRINCIPLES

4. *We are Marxists; we accept the principles of Marxism.* Marxism consists of an economic theory of society, a philosophy

of history, and a policy for the revolutionary function of the working class.

The economic theory reveals the cause of the exploitation of the working class and the source of profit; it points out the inherent contradictions in the capitalist system; while the mode of production becomes ever more communistic, the mode of distribution remains individualistic. This gives rise, on the one hand, to an accumulation of capital in the hands of ever fewer magnates of capital; on the other hand, to an ever-increasing exploitation, insecurity and misery of the working class. A reality that suffers from inherent contradictions cannot sustain itself and must be destroyed. The capitalist order of society suffers from inherent contradictions, it cannot sustain itself, and therefore in the near future it will be destroyed.

The philosophy of history rests upon the law of dialectics. Every reality in existence carries within itself the seeds of its own destruction. The seeds of destruction are life itself. Life creates a material form; and, when the material form becomes a hindrance to life itself, life destroys that material form, to bring out a higher material form. This life accomplishes through a negation, a negation of the negation, which results in a synthesis of a higher form. Capitalism first negated the producing class, by taking away from the producers the means of production and the conditions of production, making of them proletarians, and transferring all material wealth to the capitalist class. This was the first negation. When the producing class had been negated, the time had arrived for the negation of the capitalist class itself. This is the negation of negation. The result will be the bringing out of a higher synthesis—a synthesis of communism in the land and all means of life. Communism will not abolish property rights; it will abolish private property rights, for private property is a negation of the property rights of others. *Communism will restore the absolute and inalienable property rights of all human beings to the earth and all means of life, which they will use in common for the benefit of all.*

The policy for the revolutionary function of the working class

rests upon the historic function of the working class. When the capitalist order of society will collapse and be destroyed, it will become the historic function of the working class to take in hand the power of government, constitute itself the ruling class, and direct consciously all social evolution towards the state of communism. The working class must organize itself and prepare itself for this historic function.

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. The class struggles manifested themselves in a continuous and all comprehensive struggle between the property owning capitalist class and the propertyless proletariat, between the class that monopolized all means of production and life, and the class that was divested of the means of production and life. It is the historic function of the working class to destroy the conditions that divided mankind into antagonistic classes and brought out the class struggle. Since the working class destroys these conditions, classes and class struggles will disappear. But the working class can destroy these conditions only by first emancipating itself from exploitation, oppression and degradation. Once the working class is emancipated, the whole human race will be emancipated. The whole human race will then become a class of creative producers and no one will exploit another. The salvation of the human race rests entirely upon the emancipation of the working class. *The emancipation of the working class must be accomplished by the working class itself; no other class can help the working class.* Because the salvation of the human race depends entirely upon the emancipation of the working class, we are entirely concerned about the working class, and have no concern for the other classes of society. With the rise of the working class, the other classes will disappear and then, also, the working class, as a class, will disappear, for all will become workers. The ruling law will be: He that would not work, neither should he eat.

C. OUR POLICY

5. World imperialism, universal militarism and a world war

are fast passing from the stage of possibility, anticipation and theory into the stage of reality. World imperialism is already a fact, universal militarism is fast becoming a fact, and a world war is impending. These are but the stages in the historic process that negate capitalism, and they are as inevitable as the collapse of capitalism itself is inevitable. With the destruction of the capitalist order will also be destroyed the capitalist state. History will then call upon the working class to constitute itself the ruling class and take in hand the power of government. Only the working class will then be able to take and hold the power of government. Marx taught us that when the working class comes into power, it should not reintroduce and use the capitalist state for its own purposes, but should create a state of its own. That state is the dictatorship of the proletariat; that is, it is the rule of the proletariat. This dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary so long as there will yet be opposition to the new order of society. But, when all opposition has been overcome and mankind have become pro-social and communistic, then this dictatorship of the proletariat will disappear. Marx speaks of a dictatorship of the proletariat. This must be modified into the statement of the dictatorship of the working class; for, when the working class becomes the ruling class and takes possession of the earth and the means of production, there are no longer proletarians, but workers. This great truth, discovered by Marx after the Paris Commune, made the Russian revolution the greatest and most successful revolution in history. It was this truth that enabled Lenin and his followers to direct the course of the Russian revolution to triumph and success. It is our policy to teach the working class that, when it comes to power, it should not reintroduce the Capitalist State, but create *a state of its own, the dictatorship of the working class.* Unlike a dictatorship of the proletariat, a dictatorship of the working class can and should be democratic from its very inception. This is the first great truth which the working class must learn.

6. This truth should be complemented with another truth, namely: when the working class comes into power, *it should*

not reintroduce the capitalist mode of production, but simultaneously with the establishment of the dictatorship of the working class, it should also establish a working class mode of production. The capitalist mode of production rests upon the enslavement and the exploitation of the working class, and the material needs of life are produced, not for use, but for profit. But the working class mode of production rests upon the free labor of free workers, and produces the material means of life, not for profit, but for use. The next step in the revolutionary function of the working class will have to go beyond the Russian revolution. The establishment of the working class mode of production should not be postponed, as the establishment of the working class dictatorship should not be postponed; but from the outset both should be established. This is the second great truth which the working class must learn.

7. Marx thought that ancient society was not, and modern society is not, a human society, because in both societies man was and is dominated by the material relations of production and rivetted to the rock of material necessity. Human society will come into existence only with communism, for then mankind will be emancipated from the domination of the material relations and the material necessity. In ancient society man, like Prometheus, was rivetted to the rock of material necessity, and was perpetually tortured; in modern society man, like Jesus, was rivetted to the cross of material necessity, and was crucified. Instead of a human society, both were material societies. These material societies found expression in the materialist conception of history. This conception of history relates only to ancient and modern society—societies of material necessity. But in communism mankind will pass from material necessity to human freedom. *As we are communists and our aim is communism, we must complement the materialist conception of history with a rational idea of history.* This will require shifting of the centre of gravity, from the material aspect to the spiritual aspect of human existence. Hence, when the working class comes to power, it should shift the centre of gravity from the material

aspect to the spiritual aspect of human existence. The salvation of the working class depends, not so much upon an abundance of the material means of life, as upon an abundance of cultural and spiritual development. When the working class has become the ruling class and has abolished exploitation and the capitalist mode of production, then there will be no need to work so hard and so long as under the wasteful capitalist mode of production. Therefore, the principal attention of the working class should be directed principally towards the cultural and spiritual development of the working class. Like the two preceding truths, this third truth the working class should learn.

8. *Industrial and Political Action.* The Labor Party is to function in the future. What function will the future require of a revolutionary party of the working class? We are entering into an era of state capitalism; the state will become the supreme ruler economically as well as politically. *State capitalism will neither abolish the class struggle nor will it overcome the inherent contradictions of capitalism. On the contrary, state capitalism will intensify these contradictions and hasten the deadly clash between them.* This clash will result in a world war, which will be followed by a world revolution. The Labor Party will have to function in state capitalism and during a period of war and revolution. A revolutionary party that is to function in state capitalism and during war and revolution has a radically different function to perform than the revolutionary parties of the working class had to perform in private capitalism and during normally peaceful times. In private capitalism and during normally peaceful times, the working class must struggle industrially and politically against the capitalist class, to resist the ever-increasing economic and political power of the capitalist class. Hence, in private capitalism and during normally peaceful times, a revolutionary party of the working class must identify itself with the industrial and the political organizations of the working class. But we must be clear about this. In private capitalism and during normally peaceful times, the industrial and the political struggles of the

working class are directed against the capitalist class, but not against the capitalist order as a whole. On the contrary, the industrial and the political struggles of the working class at that time presuppose the continued existence of the capitalist order. But in state capitalism and during a period of war and revolution, such industrial and political struggles of the working class are no longer effective, they can no longer perform an historic function. *When the state itself becomes the supreme ruler both economically and politically, any industrial and political struggle of the working class becomes a struggle against the state and the whole capitalist order.* Such struggle is no longer an industrial and political struggle, but is a revolutionary struggle. This struggle is no longer against a particular class, and no longer presupposes the continued existence of the capitalist order; this struggle is against the state and the capitalist order, seeking to destroy both. Since the capitalist order of society and the capitalist state will be destroyed by the capitalist class through a world war, the working class has no longer any concern about industrial and political struggles; its supreme concern is to prepare itself to take over the power of government, when capitalism and the capitalist are destroyed by the world war. For this reason the Labor Party will not concern itself about the industrial and political action and struggle of the working class. It will be the function of the Labor Party to teach the working class to be prepared to take over the power of government, when history will place the power into its hands, leaving all industrial and political struggles to those classes that are already doomed by history to decay and death. *We start a new day with a new philosophy; our task is to build for the future, leaving the dead to bury the dead.*

THE MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY

1. After a retirement for many years from active participation in the revolutionary movement, we come to the fore again to be active in the revolutionary movement. To be active in the revolutionary movement is to partake in the making of history; but that the making of history may be rational and purposeful, we must first understand history, its nature, course and destiny. History is woven out of material conditions, events, truths and ideas. The material conditions and truths perpetually change, events come and go, but ideas endure. The material conditions, truths and events constitute the ever-shifting weft of history, and the ideas constitute the enduring warp of history. To partake in the making of history rationally and purposefully, we must take hold of the enduring ideas and follow them to their destination. One of the enduring ideas that came down to us is the materialist conception of history. Our first task is to understand this conception of history.

2. What is the materialist conception of history? It is seeing history in its material aspect. History is the process of human existence. It is part of the universal process of existence. Every process of existence, as well as every reality of existence, has two aspects: an ideal aspect and a material aspect. These two aspects are organically and indissolubly connected with each other; they are in essence the same. The idea precedes the material form, the idea realizes itself in the material form. Take the case of an invention. At first the invention assumes the form of an idea, and then it assumes a material form. This is true of every process in existence, and it is true of history. To perceive the nature of an idea, we must see it in its material realization; but to perceive the universal aspect of the idea, we must see it in the idea itself. Consider the following. The nature of the triangle is such that the sum of its interior three

angles is equal to two right angles. But to perceive this nature of the triangle, we must actually draw a concrete triangle. We may draw it on paper or in our imagination, but we must draw a concrete triangle to perceive its nature. Suppose that we draw a concrete triangle and convince ourselves that the sum of its three interior angles is equal to two right angles, what have we accomplished? We accomplished only this, namely, we now know the nature of this concrete triangle; but this does yet tell us nothing about triangles generally. Hence, after we convince ourselves of the nature of this concrete triangle, we turn back to the idea and we then perceive that all triangles, whatever be their shape and size, all infinite triangles in infinite existence, infinite space and infinite time have the same nature. We thus learn two things. First, to perceive the nature of an idea, we must see it in its concrete form; but to perceive the universality of the idea, we must return to the idea itself. This is true of all realities and processes in existence, and it is equally true of history. To perceive the nature of history, we must see it in its material form; but to perceive its universal aspect, as part of the universal process of existence, we must see it in the idea of history itself. When we have done this, only then do we have an adequate understanding of history. The perception of the material form of history constitutes the materialist conception of history, and the perception of the idea of history itself constitutes dialectics. Our first step is to understand the materialist conception of history.

3. Men are social beings; they must live in society and enter into social relations with one another and with society itself. Men entered into the social state, not voluntarily, but were driven to it by a nature-imposed necessity. All living beings endeavor to persist in their being and to multiply their kind; but, that they may live and multiply their kind, they must have the material means of life. These are the earth, air, water, sunshine, food and shelter. But, while nature provided these material means of life for all other living beings, man alone is compelled to cooperate with nature to produce for himself food,

clothing and shelter. But man is helpless; he cannot all by himself cooperate with nature; he can cooperate with nature only through the cooperation with his fellow men. And so, while all other living beings can live separately from one another, man is compelled to live with his fellow men together. The supreme purpose of this living together is to produce food, clothing and shelter, and to secure their existence. But men cannot produce the material means of life without entering with one another into definite relations of production. There must be a division of labor, a division of function and a division of the produce of labor. These relations of production constitute the economic basis of society, and the actual process of production constitutes the mode of production. The relations of production depend upon the mode of production. With the development of the mode of production also develop the relations of production. The relations of production in modern society with highly developed machinery are different from those in medieval society with its handicraft, and the latter relations of production were different from those in ancient society with its primitive tools. The mode of production goes through a process of evolution, beginning with primitive tools and culminating in highly complicated machinery. The evolution of the mode of production determines the corresponding evaluation of the relations of production and of the whole social superstructure. The perception of all this constitutes the materialist conception of history. Marx formulated the materialist conception of history as follows:

4. In the social production which men carry on, they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production.

Whatever be the inclinations of men, they must enter into the relations of production that they find, and conform to these relations of production: else they will not be able to exist. In a society resting on highly developed machinery one cannot suc-

cessfully carry on any bread-winning occupation in the manner that was carried on in medieval society resting on handicraft, or in ancient society resting on primitive tools. In this function of life men are absolutely determined by the mode of production and the relations of production; as these change, so also must men change their activities and their mode of life.

5. The sum total of these relations of production constitute the economic structure of society—the real foundation on which rise legal and political superstructures, and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life.

In what sense is the term, *determines*, to be understood? The mode of production neither creates the process of life nor determines its nature; these are determined by life itself. Life is substance, it is the absolute reality that manifests itself in all infinite material realities in existence. Life itself is an absolute idea, which realizes itself in the material forms of the realities and the processes of existence. When man comes into existence, he finds himself in a material world to which he must adjust himself. This adjustment, in the case of man, is not passive; man must actively adjust himself to the material world, cooperate with nature to change and improve the material world to suit his own nature. But man can change and improve his material world only in conformity with the nature of the material world. Man created his own material world out of the materials prepared by existence, by means of the forces supplied by existence, in accordance with the laws decreed by existence, and in harmony with the order established by existence. Bacon said: *Non nisi parendo vicitur*—nothing in existence can be conquered, save by complying with its nature. To create his own world, man had to conquer the materials, the forces and the laws of existence. But man could conquer them only by complying with their nature. Man had to comply with the properties of matter, the relations of numbers, the constitution

of space, the nature of the forces, the method of the laws, and the order of existence. In other words, man could create his own world only in accordance with the nature of existence. By taking thought man cannot add a cubit to his social, intellectual and spiritual stature. This he can do only by raising the economic foundation of his existence, and this he can do only in accordance with the development of the mode of production. Man cannot build the third story of a building, without first building the foundation, the first and the second story. Man cannot bring out modern machinery, without first bringing out primitive tools and primitive processes. And so, in proportion as man has made progress in the mode of production, in that proportion he rose socially, intellectually and spiritually. When men change and improve their material world, they are confronted by this changed world as the reality to which they must adjust themselves. A machine is invented. The machine is invented on the basis of all previous technical achievements; but, in turn, this new machine causes a change in the mode and the relations of production, and then men must adjust themselves to the changed mode and relations. Hence, while the mode of production neither creates the life process nor determines its nature, men must adjust themselves to the mode and the relations of production. This adjustment is of an all comprehensive nature; it comprehends all social, legal processes of life. Religion, metaphysics, philosophy, art and literature must be in harmony with the existing mode and the relations of production. A Moses, a Jesus, a Plato or a Homer could not come into existence in modern society; neither could Judaism and Christianity arise in modern society, nor could an Iliad or Plato's Republic be written now. The intellectual and the spiritual processes, like the material processes, must adjust themselves to the prevailing mode and the relations of production. In this manner does the mode of production in material life determine the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life.

6. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their

existence; but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness.

Consciousness is not an abstraction; it has definite forms. Whatever a priori forms of consciousness man may bring with himself into the world, they are only the basis for the definite forms which his consciousness assumes in the world. The world in which man lives is a social world resting on definite modes and relations of production. To exist in society, man must first appropriate the social consciousness which finds expression in the sciences, arts, industries and other pursuits; and only in proportion as one does appropriate this social consciousness, in that proportion does he succeed in society. Hence, it is this social consciousness that determines the existence of men.

7. At a certain stage of their development, the material forces of production in society come into conflict with the existing relations of production, or—what is but a legal expression for the same thing—with the property relations within which they had been at work before. From forms of development of the forces of production these relations turn into their fetters. Then comes the period of social revolution. No social order ever disappears before all the productive forces, for which there is room in it, have been developed; and new higher relations of production never appear before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of the old society.

A social order rests upon and is determined by the relations of production; the relations of production are determined by the prevailing mode of production: as the prevailing mode of production is, so, also, will be the relations of production and the social order resting on them. The prevailing mode of production, in turn, is determined by the development of the forces of production. The forces of production consist, on the one hand, of the working class; and, on the other hand, of the means and the processes of production. The forces of production are

dynamic, active, creative, fluid, flexible, capable of change, and tend to change into higher forms. Therefore, the forces of production are always revolutionary and progressive, while, the relations of production—that is, the property relations—are static, passive, fixed and inflexible, incapable of change, and tend to become fixed and petrified. Therefore, the relations of production are always conservative, reactionary and regressive. The difference between the nature of the forces of production and the nature of the relations of production arises from the difference in their functions. It is the function of the forces of production to create, while it is the function of the relations of production to conserve what has already been created. Creative life functions through the forces of production. First, the active and creative life of the working class enters into the process of production; secondly, active and creative nature enters into the process of production. But action and creation imply change and development. Therefore the forces of production tend to change and to develop. But just the opposite is the nature of the relations of production. Consider the ease with which changes and improvements are introduced into the process of production, and the difficulty of inaugurating a change and improvement in law and government, thus throwing into sharp relief the difference between the process of production and the relations of production. But, though the relations of production are conservative and reactionary, yet they cannot stop the forward movement of the process of production.

8. Within the shell of the relations of production, the forces of production function and develop. So long as within the existing relations of production there is yet room for the function and the further development of the forces of production, so long will the existing relations of production continue to exist. But, when the existing relations of production have no more room for the function and the further development of the forces of production, then the forces of production burst the shell of the existing relations of production, and the social order resting on these relations of production disappears. Then the forces

of production bring out higher relations of production, which become the basis for a higher society. Therefore, when within the shell of the present capitalist relations of production there will be no more room for the function and the further development of the forces of production, then the forces of production will burst the shell of the present capitalist relations of production, present society will disappear, and the forces of production will bring out higher relations of production, which will become the basis for socialism-communism.

9. With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformation, the distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, esthetic or philosophic—in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out. Just as our opinion of an individual is not based on what he thinks of himself, so can we not judge of such period of transformation by its own consciousness; on the contrary, this consciousness must rather be explained from the contradictions of material life, from the existing conflict between the social forces of production and the relations of production.

Marx speaks of ideological forms. What is ideology? Each man has a system of ideas, a sort of philosophy, by which he judges of everything that comes in his experience. The philosophy may be very crude and vague, yet it constitutes the standard of his judgments. Whatever agrees with his philosophy, he regards as good, right and proper; and whatever disagrees with his philosophy, he regards as bad, wrong and improper. The ordinary man believes that of his own accord he chose his philosophy, and that he freely judges of things according to his philosophy. His philosophy he regards as absolutely true and correct. He therefore stands on his philos-

ophy. But this is an illusion. As Spinoza says: men are conscious of their ideas, feelings and actions, but they are not conscious of the cause that determines their ideas, feelings and actions; therefore they believe that they think, feel and act as they please. Since men have this illusion, and they believe that of their own accord they think, feel and act as they please, they quite naturally regard their philosophy as right, good and proper. They therefore stand, so to say, on their heads, because they believe that their heads determine their views and actions. By standing on their heads, they see the world in an inverted manner: what is effect, they regard as cause; and what is cause, they regard as effect. This is what is called ideology. Ideology is an inverted view of the world. To perceive the real world, we must see it in its true nature and in causal relations; we must first know the cause that determines our ideas, feelings and actions. Now, when a transformation takes place in the economic basis of society, it will reflect itself in a transformation in the ideas, feelings and actions of men. Those that are benefited by this transformation will regard it as right, good and proper; on the other hand, those that will suffer by this transformation will regard it as bad, wrong and improper. Each one believes that his view of the transformation is impersonal, because it is an absolutely true and correct view. But if these men could see deeper into their psychology and could understand what really determines their views, they would perceive that through their respective views speak the economic transformation. Hence, in judging of an economic transformation in society, we must pay no attention to the views which men entertain about this transformation, but must consider the transformation itself with relation to past and present stages of the mode of production and the relations of production. Here we have a solid basis for a true knowledge and adequate understanding of history.

10. Mankind always takes up only such problems as it can solve; since, looking at the matter more closely, we will always find that the problem itself arises only when the

material conditions necessary for its solution already exist or are at least in the process of formation.

Marx said: The problem and the means of its solution arise simultaneously; that is, a problem can arise in the mind of men and become a problem to them only then when they have the means for its solution: otherwise, the problem will not become a problem to them. For instance, there are thousands of problems, in philosophy, science, art and politics; but these are problems only to those that have the means for their solution; that is, to those that possess the necessary knowledge and mental training for the solution of these problems; they are problems to the philosophers, the scientists, the artists and the statesmen. But these problems are no problems at all to the ordinary men, for these do not possess the necessary knowledge and mental training for their solution. And so, while the philosophers, the scientists, the artists and the statesmen concentrate their thoughts and efforts on the solution of these problems, the ordinary men are not in the least disturbed by them. Now, the means for the solution of a problem are not things of air, they do not fall from the sky, nor do they come at random; but all arise out of the conditions of existence according to the state of development of the mode of production. For instance, modern machinery presupposes a highly developed science and technic; but modern science and modern technic developed only in response to the needs of the ever-expanding mode of production, and upon the basis of each succeeding step in progress. Upon all preceding steps in progress men built ever higher. And so, in proportion as the means for the solution of a problem were prepared, in that proportion did the problem arise and eventually it was solved. But there is a deeper aspect of the matter which requires consideration.

11. We are now confronted by the problem of unemployment. That this problem confronts us now is proof that we have the means for its solution. The present mechanism of production has reached such a state of development and efficiency that it is possible for the working class to produce an

abundance of the means of life for the whole human race by working only a few hours a day. But since the existing relations of production require the workers to work for eight or ten hours a day, the present relations of production cannot absorb all workers. Hence, millions of workers are thrown out of work. Thus the problem of unemployment arose; it arose because we have the means for its solution. And the solution is right at hand. Let the hours of labor be reduced, and the unemployed workers will be reabsorbed by the process of production. But the question arises: will mankind solve the problem of unemployment? The answer is, eventually it will solve the problem of unemployment, but not now nor in the near future, because we have not yet the means for its solution. Here, then, we have a contradiction. On the one hand, we saw that a problem can arise only when the means for its solution already exist or are in the process of formation, and we also saw that the problem of unemployment arose because we have the means for its solution. On the other hand, we stated that the problem of unemployment will not be solved now nor in the near future, because we have not yet the means for its solution. How, then, could the problem arise? The answer is: unemployment is not yet a problem to us. Not only is unemployment no problem to the capitalist class, but even to the working class it is yet no problem. To the working class, as well as to the capitalist class, unemployment presents itself only as a temporary disturbance, which will be readily overcome, and things will return to their previous state. So long as even the working class regards unemployment as only a temporary disturbance, so long unemployment is yet no problem to mankind. Only then when unemployment will present itself to the working class as a problem, and not merely as a temporary disturbance, only then will unemployment become a problem to mankind, and only then will it be solved. But that unemployment may present itself to the working class as a problem, the working class will have to become class conscious and organized. Thus we see that, though in fact unemployment is a problem, it is not yet a problem to the

only class that can solve it, namely, the working class. The means for the solution of this problem are yet wanting.

12. In broad outlines we can designate the Asiatic, the ancient, the feudal and the modern bourgeois methods of production as so many epochs in the progress of the economic formation of society. The bourgeois relations of production are the last antagonistic form of the social process of production—antagonistic, not in the sense of individual antagonism, but of one arising from conditions surrounding the life of individuals in society; at the same time the productive forces developing in the womb of bourgeois society create the material conditions for the solution of that antagonism. This social formation constitutes, therefore, the closing chapter of the prehistoric stage of human society.

The Communist Manifesto begins by telling us: The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes. This was true of ancient as well as of modern society. Through antagonisms and class struggles the economic basis of ancient and modern society was formed. But in the womb of modern bourgeois society are created the material conditions for the solution of that antagonism. The material conditions are, on the one hand, a highly developed mechanism of production; and, on the other hand, a class conscious and organized working class. When the working class becomes class conscious and organized, then all social antagonism will disappear, Marx concludes with a very significant statement. This social formation constitutes, therefore, the closing chapter of the prehistoric stage of human society. We spoke of history, taking for granted that there was history; but this statement tells us that until now there was yet no his-

tory. There was yet no history, because there was yet no human society; and there was yet no human society, because the life of men was not determined by them: it was determined by the mode of production and dominated by material necessity. History is a process of human existence, but it becomes history only then when men consciously and rationally partake in this process and direct it rationally and purposefully. But until now mankind did not consciously and rationally partake in the process of their own existence. Therefore, their existence until now was no more history than the existence of animals constitutes history. In both cases it is only a natural process of evolution, but it is not history. That human history may begin, it is necessary that human society should first come into existence. But human society presupposes free and rational men. Until now there was yet no human society. In ancient society man was rivetted, like Prometheus, to the rock of material necessity; and in modern society man is crucified, like Jesus, on the cross of material necessity and the relations of production. In both societies men were and are yet irrational animals. Only when the working class will become conscious and organized, and will bring out a mode of production and relations of production that will become the basis for socialism-communism, only then will human society come into existence, and only then will human history begin. Hence, present bourgeois society is only the closing chapter of the prehistoric stage of human society. Until now there was only prehistory, but not yet history; until now there was only an economic formation of society, but not yet society itself. This is the materialist conception of history. Of ancient and modern society and of the process of human existence until now there can be only a materialist conception. When human society will come into existence and human history will begin, then the materialist conception of history will, by the law of dialectics, undergo a metamorphosis; from a materialist conception of history it will become an idea of history.

13. Mankind will at last emancipate itself from the dominance of material necessity and the determination of the mode of pro-

duction; they will at last become free. Instead of being dominated by material necessity and determined by the mode of production they will rule over material necessity and determine the mode of production; but they will rule and determine, not arbitrarily, but rationally and in accordance with the nature and order of existence. This idea Marx expressed in *Capital* (vol. III, ch. 48):

"The realm of freedom (from natural necessity) does not commence until the point is passed where labor under the compulsion of necessity and of external utility is required. In the very nature of things it lies beyond the sphere of material production in the strict meaning of the term. Just as the savage must wrestle with nature, in order to satisfy his wants, in order to maintain his life and reproduce it, so civilized man has to do it, and he must do it in all forms of society under all possible modes of production. With his development the realm of natural necessity expands, because his wants increase; but at the same time the forces of production increase, by which these wants are satisfied. The freedom in this field cannot consist of anything else but of the fact that socialized man, the associated producers, regulate their interchange with nature rationally, bringing it under their common control, instead of being ruled by it as by some blind power; that they accomplish their task with the least expenditure of energy and under conditions most adequate to their human nature and most worthy of it. But it always remains a realm of necessity. Beyond it begins that development of human power, which is its own end, the true realm of freedom, which, however, can flourish only upon that realm of necessity as its basis. The shortening of the working day is its fundamental premise."

14. For thousands of years the profoundest thinkers endeavored to form an idea of the process of human existence, its nature, course and destiny; and, though they perceived intuitively that mankind were destined to attain to a human, rational and happy existence, yet they failed to understand the process of human existence. The reason for their failure was that they never attempted to see this process in its material form. And so it came

to pass that, spite of the endeavors of the profoundest thinkers, mankind remained ignorant of the nature, course and destiny of their own existence. Marx was the first to perceive the true nature of the process of human existence, and he did perceive it because he saw it in its material aspect. This is the great achievement of Marx. No one can hope to understand history and society without the materialist conception of history as formulated by Marx. Marx states the materialist conception of history in absolute terms, admitting of no exception, and he was right; the materialist conception of history admits of no exception: It is absolute, eternal and universal. All aspects of human existence are explained by the materialist conception of history. There is an absolute, infinite and eternal reason for this. History is a process of human existence, and this process is but a phase of the infinite, eternal and universal process of existence itself. All infinite existence realizes itself in material forms, material realities and material processes. Existence is absolute thought, it is an absolute idea; but this absolute idea realizes itself in a material world. To perceive the nature of this absolute idea, we must see it in its material realization: else we shall never understand existence. What is true of the infinite, eternal and universal process of existence is equally true of the process of human existence. The essence of this process is an eternal idea, but this eternal idea realizes itself in material conditions, material events and material realities. To this there is absolutely no exception. Marx was therefore right in stating the materialist conception of history in absolute terms. We saw before that, to perceive the nature of an idea, we must see it in its material form; but, to perceive the universal nature of the idea, we must see it in the idea itself. We acquired an understanding of the process of human existence, by seeing it in its material form. But the process of human existence is but part of the process of existence itself. To perceive the identity between these processes, and to perceive how and why the process of human existence has a course and a destiny, we must return to the idea itself: the materialist conception of history cannot tell us this. The idea of history is the idea of dialectics. Our next step, then, is to understand dialectics.

NATURAL AND RATIONAL DIALECTICS

15. History is a process of human existence; and, like all other processes of existence, it proceeds in accordance with a definite method of existence. This method is called dialectics. The term dialectics dates from the ancient Greek philosophers, but the idea of dialectics is much older than Greek philosophy. In fact, in the hands of the Greek philosophers dialectics lost its profound significance. Hegel was the first modern thinker that restored the true significance of dialectics. Dialectics is viewing existence in its ideal aspect. According to Hegel, *dialectics is the process through which reason, by reconciliation of opposites, advances in self development to the perfection of absolute spirit*. This statement will become clear as we proceed. Existence appears to be split up into two infinite, eternal and universal opposites, each warring against the other, and each endeavoring to destroy the other. There is the absolute and the relative, existence and non-existence, cause and effect, light and darkness, life and death, good and evil, joy and sorrow, and so *ad infinitum*. Since time immemorial men of thought reflected on this dichotomy of existence, and they perceived that a time would come when light will triumph over darkness, life over death, good over evil, joy over sorrow, and so *ad infinitum*. In this perception there was a profound idea, but this idea was not brought out into explicitness. It was the great achievement of Hegel to make this profound idea explicit. So long as our usual thinking is through the senses, the understanding and the imagination, so long existence appears to be split up into two opposites; but, when we attain to explicit reason, then all dualism and opposition disappear; then we perceive existence as being absolutely one and indivisible and in perfect harmony with itself; and then, also, we perceive existence, not statically, but dynamically in its eternal duration and flux. Then existence and non-

existence are one, cause and effect are one, light and darkness are one, life and death are one, good and evil are one, joy and sorrow are one, and so *ad infinitum*. And, while the senses, the understanding and the imagination give us perceptions, concepts and images, explicit reason gives us ideas; and it is only by means of the ideas of explicit reason that we can perceive the absolute and infinite unity of existence. At the outset we must be clear about the nature of an idea.

16. History is a process of human existence. What is a process? Let us consider a mechanical process. Here we have a factory in which hundreds of workers by means of tools and machines and out of some materials produce commodities. Each machine consists of many parts that are organically related to one another, the several machines in the factory relate to one another, the hundreds of workers are connected with one another in the process, and all together constitute one organism for the production of the commodities. What unites the tools, the machines, the materials and the factory in one process of production? The answer is: an idea unites them. The idea may reside in the mind of the inventor or in somebody else that appropriates this idea, without this idea the whole process would not come into existence. Not only would not the parts of the machines come together, not only would not the machines, the tools and the materials assemble themselves together, but even the hundreds of workers would not come together without this idea. The idea had to occur to some human mind, before this process could come into existence. So long as the idea resides in the mind of some person, so long the process will continue; but let this idea cease to exist in the mind of any person, and the process comes to an end. Hence, we see that the essence of this mechanical process is an idea, and to understand this process we must first understand the idea. Existence in all its infinite processes proceeds in accordance with the idea of dialectics. We saw before that, to understand the nature of an idea, we must see it in its material realization; but, to understand its universal aspect, we must see it in the idea itself. Let us, therefore, first see the idea of dial-

ectics in its material realization.

17. Suppose we take a seed. The seed contains the potentiality of reproducing seeds of its own kind, but this it cannot accomplish directly. The seed must be brought into contact with the proper environment, and the life-principle in the seed must go through a cycle of metamorphoses. Suppose we initiate this process by putting the seed into the ground. Out of the seed a plant will sprout out, and in due time the plant will bear seeds a hundredfold, a thousandfold. And now let us consider the successive metamorphoses. So long as the seed remained intact in its form and the life-principles was locked up in it, so long the process of metamorphoses could not begin. To start this process, it was necessary to destroy the seed's form, so that the life-principle in the seed be free to function and to expand. This constitutes the first negation in the process; the form of the seed is negated. Then the life-principle is free to bring out the plant. The plant grows and develops and becomes ripe for bearing seeds. Here again, so long as the plant remains intact, grows and develops, so long the life-principle contained in it cannot pass to the next step, namely, the bringing out of seeds. Hence, the next step in the process is to negate the plant. The life-principle now passes from the plant to the seeds; and, while the seeds thrive, grow and mature, the plant is dying. When the seeds are fully ripe, they fall off from the plant, and the plant dies. This constitutes the second negation. The result is a rich harvest of seeds; from one seed came out a thousand seeds. The purpose of the first seed was to reproduce seeds of its own kind, but this it could accomplish only through the medium of the plant and through the two negations. The seed started out as a positive reality containing the life-principle; this was an affirmation of life itself. Then this affirmation of life was negated by the negation of the form of the seed. This was the first negation. Then came the second negation, the bringing out of the seeds, and this second negation negated the first negation; it negated the plant. The result is an affirmation of life, but this time in a thousands seeds. And so, life begins with an affirmation, it ne-

gates this affirmation, then negates this negation, and life affirms itself again, but in an enriched manner.

18. These seeds became a plant, and the plant became many seeds. Consider this more closely. The seed became something else, it became a plant; and the plant became something else, it became seeds. Not only did each become something else, but each became its direct opposite. The seed is small, homogenous and implicit; the life-principle in the seed is locked up and asleep. On the other hand, the plant is large, differentiated in form and function, heterogeneous and explicit; the life-principle in the plant functions and expands. The seed is one, the plant branches out into many parts. In form and functions, therefore, the plant is the direct opposite of the seed. In this process of evolution of the seed into the plant, what becomes of the seed? Does it cease to exist, or does it continue in the plant? If the seed ceased to exist, it would mean that the seed disappeared into nothing, and that the plant arose out of nothing; but this is inconceivable. What, then, was the case? The answer is, the seed continued in the plant; the seed and the plant are one and the same reality. Then the question arises: in what sense are the seed and the plant the same reality? We saw that in form and function they are not the same reality; they are the opposites of each other. Again, they are not the same reality in substance, for the plant is not built out of the substance of the seed. In what respect, then, are the seed and the plant the same reality? The answer is: Though in form, substance and function, the seed and the plant are not the same reality, yet there is something in both of them that constitutes the common element in both the seed and the plant, and which makes them to be the same reality. What is that something? The answer is: It is the life-process. Before the life-process was in the seed and now it is in the plant; in the seed the life-process was passive and implicit, in the plant it is active and explicit. But, when we say that the identity between the seed and the plant is to be found, not in their substance and form, but in the life-process itself, we thereby assert that the reality which constitutes the identity in the seed and

the plant is an immaterial reality, namely, it is the life-process. We saw before that a process is an idea. Applying to the seed and the plant, we say that the reality which constitutes the identity in the seed and the plant is an idea. It is this idea that is the same in the seed and the plant, and which therefore neither disappears with the disappearance of the seed nor comes out of nothing with the plant. This idea continues through an infinite series of changes, through an infinite series of generations of seeds and plants, and yet always remains one and the same idea. And so, while the forms of manifestation of an idea perpetually change, the idea itself always remains the same. What is true of the seed and the plant is also true of all realities in existence; they are all manifestations of ideas, for ideas are the essence of the realities and the processes of existence. And what is true of existence in all its infinite aspects is also true of history, for history is part of the universal process of existence, and the dialectics of existence are the dialectics of history. The process of human existence begins with an affirmation of existence; this affirmation is negated; this negation, in turn, is negated; and the result is an affirmation of a higher and richer content. Thus the process of human existence rises ever higher and becomes ever richer.

19. Here a difficult problem presents itself, namely, how is progress possible? We saw that one seed can become a thousand seeds, and a thousand seeds can become a million seeds, and so on *ad infinitum*. Suppose that from one seed emerge a million seeds, the million seeds are exactly the same as was the first seed. There was a quantitative gain, but no qualitative gain; one seed became millions of seeds, but the million seeds are like the one seed. Suppose we apply this to the human race. Suppose that from a primitive pair of beings descended the human race; from one pair an infinite number of men and women came into existence. If in the case of men the same law of dialectics holds good, then the present human race should be what the first primitive pair was. And yet, mankind made great progress; how was this progress possible? The answer to this question is involved

in the consideration of the two aspects of dialectics. Until now we spoke of dialectics in general terms. We assumed that, while by the law of dialectics all realities of existence go through metamorphoses, dialectics itself remains eternally the same. We shall presently see that the law of dialectics itself undergoes a metamorphosis. Dialectics begins as a natural process and becomes a rational process; it begins as natural dialectics and becomes rational dialectics. We shall presently see that in natural dialectics there is no progress; progress begins with rational dialectics. And, first, we must be clear about progress itself.

20. What is progress? As the term implies, progress is a movement forward. Movement implies that something moves. Therefore, progress indicates that something moves forward. How are we to determine whether something moves forward or backward? By the intended aim of the movement. If something moves towards the intended aim, it progresses, it moves forward; if, however, it moves away from the intended aim, it regresses, it moves backward. But an aim implies the consciousness of the aim. Therefore, we can speak of an aim only with relation to conscious beings, especially human beings. But even when we know the intended aim, we do not yet know whether the movement is progressive or regressive; for, though the movement may be towards the aim, the aim itself may be regressive. In that case, the progressive movement towards the aim is really a regressive movement. Therefore, to know whether a movement is progressive or regressive, we must first know whether the aim itself is progressive. How can we determine whether the aim itself is progressive? By the destiny of history. If the aim is in the direction of the destiny of history, the aim is progressive, and so also is the movement to the destiny of history, then the aim is regressive, and so also is the movement towards that aim. Therefore, to know whether the aim is progressive, we must first know what is the destiny of history. We saw before (sect. 12) that history begins only then when men consciously and rationally partake in the process of their existence and direct it rationally and purposefully. And we now add that real progress begins

only then when men consciously and rationally partake in the process of their existence and direct it rationally and purposefully. Until then there was yet no progress. Let us consider the matter.

21. When we reflect on existence, we see infinite progress. There was progress in the inorganic world, there was progress in the organic world, and there was progress in the human world. Yet when we reflect on this progress, we perceive that it was not the progress of the realities of existence, but of existence itself. It is true that the stars and planets underwent an evolutionary process, but the stars and the planets make no progress: they are unconscious of what they went through. Again, the countless orders, genera and species of living beings on the earth underwent great progress, but they did not make that progress, for they were unconscious of that progress. Likewise, when we reflect on the human race, we perceive that, with few exceptions, the progress made by mankind was not their progress. Progress implies, not only a consciousness of the progress, but also a deliberate and rational endeavor to make progress, and to make that progress towards the destiny of history. Since the great mass of mankind until now neither knew what the destiny of history was nor did they rationally and deliberately set themselves to the task to progress towards the destiny of history, it follows that until now the great mass of mankind made no progress. Whatever progress was made, was the work of the chosen few who did perceive the destiny of history, and who with set purpose sought to attain to that destiny. What, then, is the destiny of history? The destiny of history is the destiny of universal reason. Universal reason is the essence of all realities of existence. All realities of existence live, move and have their being in universal reason; all exist and act in accordance with the nature of universal reason. This is the reason why all existence can be explained by reason. Now, while all realities in existence are conceived in universal reason, they are not conscious of that reason: universal reason is in them implicit. Only in man does universal reason tend to become explicit; man is in-

tended to become conscious of reason and consciously live in accordance with the light and guidance of reason. This is the destiny of history. Hence all movement consciously and rationally directs human endeavor to bring mankind to the consciousness of reason. This will enable mankind to order its life in the light of reason and in accordance with its guidance. Such movement is progressive. This is the law of reason itself. It is universal reason that seeks to realize its own purpose and destiny. It seeks to realize this through mankind, and this constitutes progress. To understand this, we must now return to Hegel's definition of dialectics. As we saw before, according to Hegel, dialectics is the process through which reason, by reconciliation of opposites, advances in self-development to the perfection of absolute spirit. To understand what Hegel says we must be clear about the following. What is spirit, what is absolute spirit, and what is reason?

22. Spirit is self-conscious creative thought, as contrasted with implicit and passive thought. Thought is substance, it is the absolute, it is life itself. We are thought, we live, move and have our being in thought, and an infinite and eternal stream of thought passes through us constantly. But this thought is implicit and passive in us. Let this thought assume the form of an idea, and we at once become active and creative; we begin to realize this idea. This active and creative idea is spirit. What is absolute spirit? The absolute spirit is what Spinoza calls the Infinite Intellect. The infinite intellect is the absolute, infinite and eternal idea of the Absolute. When the Absolute conceived this idea, then the infinite world came into existence. The order and destiny of creation was in accordance with the law of dialectics. The Absolute is absolute thought and infinite light. To bring out the world, the Absolute differentiates himself into life, will and love. He projects his infinite will, which becomes infinite extension. The infinite will moving from the centre of the Absolute to the periphery of infinite extension moves from absolute explicitness and supreme perfection to complete implicitness and imperfection—from infinite light to darkness. Then the

Absolute projects his infinite love, which Spinoza calls the Infinite Intellect. The Infinite Intellect comprehends infinite extension, integrates it, and clothes it in infinite forms. Extension comprehended by form becomes a reality. Thus are brought out the stars, the solar system and all the infinite realities of existence. Life appears on the earth's surface; at first in the form of primordial cells, then life integrates the cells and brings out an infinite series of forms of life, one higher than the other, until man is brought into existence. Man starts as an animal, but his predetermined destiny is to transcend the phenomenal aspect of existence. The Infinite Intellect takes man in hand, raises him ever higher, until he attains in succession to explicit reason, self-consciousness and the intellect. The intellect is the highest state of man. When man attains to the intellect, he perceives that his intellect is part of the Infinite Intellect of God; he then consciously and explicitly identifies himself with the Infinite Intellect and contemplates existence in the aspect of eternity and infinitude. He then partakes of the infinite joy with which God contemplates Himself and His work, and this constitutes the infinite love of God. The partaking of this infinite joy constitutes the intellectual love of God.

23. Thus we see the eternal cycle of existence in all its infinite aspects. Creation is not from the centre of the Absolute towards the periphery of extension, but is from the periphery of extension to the centre of the Absolute; it is from implicitness, darkness and imperfection towards explicitness, light and perfection. While the will of the Absolute moves from infinite light and supreme perfection to darkness and imperfection, the love of the Absolute moves from darkness and imperfection to infinite light and supreme perfection. Viewing existence in the aspect of eternal cycles of creation, we see how out of chaos and darkness emerged creation; we see the dawn of light and the appearance of life; we see the infinite forms of life following one another, rising ever higher towards light and consciousness, until man appears and leads all existence towards infinite light and supreme perfection. The ladder of evolution stands on the periphery of

extension, but its top reaches the centre of the Absolute. We thus see the infinite, eternal and universal aspect of dialectics. The Absolute negates himself as infinite light and supreme perfection and becomes darkness and imperfection; this is the first negation. Then the Absolute negates himself as darkness and imperfection and becomes again infinite light and supreme perfection. This is the second negation. The Absolute comes to his former state, but enriched with the infinite experience of the process. The downward movement of the will of the Absolute constitutes entropy, devolution; and the upward movement of the love of the Absolute constitutes evolution. This love of the Absolute is what Spinoza calls the Infinite Intellect, and what Hegel calls the Absolute Spirit. While the will of the Absolute was moving downward, the love of the Absolute was negated and became implicit; but now that the love of the Absolute awakens and begins to move upward towards the Absolute, the will of the Absolute is negated. The awakening of the love of the Absolute—that is, the Infinite Intellect, the Absolute Spirit—is the universal reason that is implicit in existence; the Infinite Intellect now appears as universal reason; the Infinite Intellect, as universal reason, moves towards the Absolute, to become again the Infinite Intellect, the Absolute Spirit. But the Infinite Intellect can realize its destiny only by reconciling all oppositions between itself and the will of the Absolute; it must reconcile existence with non-existence, cause with effect, light with darkness, life with death, good with evil, and so *ad infinitum*. It is through the reconciliation of these opposites that the Infinite Intellect, as universal reason, advances in self-development to the perfection of the Absolute Spirit. This is the infinite, eternal and universal aspect of dialectics. Let us now consider the course of the life-process of man.

24. Man begins as thought and is conceived in thought—the thought of his parents. The parents meet, they attract each other, they conceive a desire to unite with each other, and they think of each other. In thought they are already united, but the realization of this thought through their bodies requires time and

the overcoming of opposition. In due time the opposition are overcome and they unite together. The union begins in the brain, the thought in the brain becomes the seed of the parents, which unite together. Thus thought becomes matter, spirit becomes flesh. Thought tends to become extension. As soon as the new being is conceived in the union of the seeds, the life-process begins to increase and multiply the seeds, it brings out a body consisting of numerous organs endowed with definite powers to function in the external world. During the intra-uterine existence of the new being all consciousness is wholly implicit; consciousness is there, the consciousness of life itself, but the new being is not conscious. When the new being is prepared for the external world, it is delivered by the mother. On coming into the external world, the child opens its peripheral senses and perceives the realities around. As the child grows and develops it brings out in succession the understanding, the judgment, the imagination, intuition, reason and, finally, the intellect. In the intellect man attains to the highest state of explicitness and self-consciousness. He then perceives that his intellect is part of the Infinite Intellect of the Absolute; he then identifies himself with the Infinite Intellect and with the totality of infinite existence. Thus we see that in man is recapitulated the cycle of dialectics through which the Absolute goes through. And what is true of the Absolute and man is equally true of mankind. It is the destiny of mankind to attain to the intellect, and the whole course of the process of human existence towards the intellect constitutes the predetermined history of mankind. All movement towards that destiny constitutes progress.

25. Dialectics is the process through which reason, by reconciliation of opposites, advances in self-development to the perfection of absolute spirit. Hegel said, every reality carries within itself the seeds of its own destruction. What are the seeds that destroy every reality? The seeds are life itself in its function as universal reason. Life creates the realities, and life destroys them. Why does life destroy the realities which it creates? This arises from the fact that there is an inherent contradiction be-

tween life and the material forms which life assumes. Life must assume a material form, but between life and its material form there is an opposition. While life eternally remains active, creative, fluid, flexible, capable of assuming higher forms, and eternally strives to pass to higher forms; the material form which life assumes tends to become fixed, hardened and incapable of change. To change a material form means to destroy it. So long as life can function through the material form which it assumes, so long life will function through that material form; but, when the evolution of life requires a different and higher material form through which to function, then life destroys the previous material form, so that it may become free to assume a different and higher material form. This is the reason why life destroys the seed to bring out the plant, and then destroys the plant to bring out seeds. This is the universal method of dialectics. It is through these negations that life reconciles the opposites and makes the life-process possible. This reconciliation is effected by life in its aspect as universal reason. Let us consider a concrete illustration. Capitalism involves an inherent contradiction, arising from the fact that capitalism rests upon the basis of two opposite classes: the capitalist class and the working class. These two classes negate each other, and it is by this negation that reason will reconcile them. How will reason reconcile them? By allowing them to negate each other, and by negating each other they will eventually negate themselves and both will disappear, mankind will then emerge free from this contradiction. The process starts by the rising capitalist class beginning to negate the working class. The workers are expropriated of the means and the conditions of production and converted into proletarians; that is, workers who own nothing else but their labor-power which they must sell to exist. All means and conditions of production are appropriated by the capitalist class. Thus two classes arise in direct opposition to each other, and a class struggle arises between them. But the more the capitalist class negates the working class, the more does the capitalist class negate the very basis of its own existence. The ever-increasing negation of the working

class renders them, relatively to the ever-increasing production of material wealth, ever poorer and ever more dependent upon the capitalist class. This gives rise to an ever-increasing mass of surplus produce which the capitalist class cannot dispose of at a profit in their own country. They are then compelled to seek foreign markets for their surplus produce. But in proportion as capitalism develops and spreads over the world, in that proportion the basis of foreign markets is made ever narrower and circumscribed. Then begins the period of ever-increasing unemployment; and ever greater armies of workers are thrown out of employment. The unemployed workers outside the factories and the shops help still more to negate the working class, and this enables the capitalist class to bring upon the working class ever greater exploitation. As this takes place in all capitalist countries, the competition between the various groups of capitalists on the international market becomes so keen and desperate that a world struggle becomes inevitable. The world struggle breaks out, the working class becomes revolutionary, the economic system collapses and the whole social superstructure falls to the ground, and both classes—the capitalist class and the proletariat—are destroyed. When these classes are negated, then emerges a higher society freed from both classes. We must refer here to the famous statement of Marx contained in *Capital* (vol. I, chapter 32);

"As soon as this process of transformation has sufficiently decomposed the old society from top to bottom; as soon as the laborers are turned into proletarians, their means of labor into capital; as soon as the capitalist mode of production stands on its own feet; then the further socialization of labor and further transformation of the land and other means of production into socially exploited and, therefore, common means of production, as well as the further expropriation of private proprietors, take a new form. That which is now to be expropriated is no longer the laborer working for himself, but the capitalist exploiting many laborers. This expropriation is accomplished by the action of the immanent laws of capitalistic production itself, by the centralization of

capital. One capitalist always kills many. Hand in hand with this centralization, or this expropriation of many capitalists by few, develop, on an ever extending scale, the cooperative form of the labor-process, the conscious technical application of science, the methodical cultivation of the soil, the transformation of the instruments of labor into instruments of labor only usable in common, the economizing of all means of production by their use as the means of production of combined, socialized labor, the entanglement of all peoples in the net of the world market, and with this, the international character of the capitalist regime. Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with it, and under it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated."

"The capitalist mode of appropriation, the result of the capitalist mode of production, produces capitalist private property. This is the first negation of individual private property, as founded on the labor of the proprietor. But capitalist production begets, with the inexorability of a law of nature, its own negation. It is the negation of negation. This does not reestablish private property for the producer, but gives him individual property based on the acquisitions of the capitalist era; i. e., on co-operation and the possession in common of the land and of all means of production.

"The transformation of scattered private property, arising from individual labor, into capitalist private property is, naturally, a process incomparably more protracted, violent and difficult than

the transformation of capitalistic private property, already practically resting on socialized production, into socialized property. In the former case we had the expropriation of the mass of the people by a few usurpers; in the latter we have the expropriation of a few usurpers by the mass of the people."

26. Dialectics is the infinite and eternal method of existence, but this method is itself subject to dialectics. Dialectics starts out as a natural process and becomes a rational process; natural dialectics becomes rational dialectics, and only then begins true progress. As said before, progress begins only then when we begin consciously and rationally to participate in the process of existence, and this we begin, then we attain to explicit reason and self-consciousness. Until then we are subject to natural dialectics. Natural dialectics is always the method of existence, but in conscious and rational beings it becomes rational dialectics. We must now distinguish between natural and rational dialectics. We saw before that dialectics works through two negations, but these two negations, implying the destruction of material forms, meet with resistance from those very material forms. From this arises the law, *that every step in progress becomes a hindrance to further progress*. So long as the materials are yet in their raw and fluid state, so long we can mould them into any form we like; but, once the materials are given a finished form, they can no longer be changed, without destroying them. But the destruction of the form of the material reality means the destruction of the reality itself and this means the destruction of values. Suppose that on a vacant plot of land we put up a five story building. This is a step in progress; it improves the vacant land and the neighborhood. But suppose that in the course of time and the growth of the city the neighborhood has changed so that it now requires a twenty-story building, in that case the five-story building becomes a hindrance to the erection of the twenty-story structure. We cannot convert a five-story into a twenty-story structure. To destroy the five-story building means to destroy so much value. If in the neighborhood there is yet vacant land, the twenty-story building will be erected on the vacant land.

But, if there be no more vacant land in the neighborhood, then it becomes necessary to throw down the five-story building, clear the ground and erect the twenty-story building on a new foundation. But as the throwing down of the old building means a loss of value, it will cause a delay—the construction of the twenty-story building will be put off for sometime. But, when the need for a twenty-story building becomes great, then the old five-story building will be destroyed, the ground will be cleared of the old foundation, and a new and deeper foundation will be built for the twenty-story building. Thus we see that every step in progress becomes a hindrance to further progress; that is, every step in progress becomes the basis for the next higher step. This implies the negation of the previous step in progress. But this negation meets with resistance. What is true of this case is true of all cases in existence. Suppose a new revolutionary idea is conceived which, if realized, would remove many social evils. But the realization of this new revolutionary idea meets with resistance from the existing institutions and those that are identified with the existing institutions. This resistance will prevent the immediate realization of the new revolutionary idea; the previous steps in progress will become a hindrance to further progress. Not only is the realization of the new revolutionary idea delayed, but, also, if ever it will be realized, it will be realized through struggle and destruction. Now, suppose that, after a revolutionary struggle, the new revolutionary idea is realized, what then? This new revolutionary idea will, in turn, become a hindrance to further progress. This new revolutionary idea will realize itself in material forms, in material institutions and material interests; so that when in the future a still higher revolutionary idea will come to the fore, the former revolutionary idea will become a hindrance to the realization of the new higher revolutionary idea. This is the course of natural dialectics. This is shown by the fact that nations that had gone through a revolutionary struggle and revolutionary reconstruction before are now the greatest opponents to new revolutionary reconstructions. But as the law of dialectics is infinite, eternal and universal, it pro-

ceeds in its course, but it is always through struggle and suffering. This in the case of mankind will continue so long as they remain implicit and irrational. But, when they will attain to explicit reason and self-consciousness, then natural dialectics will become rational dialectics. Natural dialectics will always remain, but men will convert it into rational dialectics. How will they accomplish this? We shall presently see how they will accomplish this.

27. We saw before that existence appears to us to be split up into opposites; and we also saw that this appears to us only so long as we think through the senses, the understanding and the imagination; but, when we attain to explicit reason and think through the ideas of reason, then we perceive that existence in all its infinite aspects is absolutely one and in perfect harmony with itself; and then all oppositions are reconciled. Consider the case of the human body. The body is full of life; every cell, every tissue, every organ and the body as a whole are full of life. Yet, when we look deeper into the human body, we find that it is full of death. Every cell, every tissue, every organ and the body as a whole are full of death; while they live, they also die; but, because they constantly die, they live. Life is a process of repair and waste; life as a process of repair and death is the process of waste. But repair depends upon waste. Let the body cease to waste, then there will be no repair. The cessation of waste will also be the cessation of death; the cessation of waste will mean the cessation of repair, and the cessation of repair will mean the cessation of life; so that by the cessation of death life also will cease. Is our body the seat of two opposite forces or processes? By no means; for, if they were two opposite forces or processes, they could not coexist and cooperate in our body. Both processes are only alternate aspects of life itself: it is by this alternation in the functions of life itself that living beings are possible. What is true of the human body is true of society and of mankind. There are times to build, and there are times to destroy that we may build on a higher plane. So long as we are yet implicit and let natural dialectics determine our life, so long

we resist any innovation and change in our institutions and system of society. This devolves upon us misery, suffering, struggle and bloody revolutions. This was the history of mankind until now. But, when mankind will attain to explicit reason and self-consciousness, and they will realize that the life-process demands the destruction of institutions and systems as soon as they have ceased to be a benefit to mankind, then they will cheerfully destroy the old institutions and systems, and with joy build the new. Thus life will become free to move onward and forward towards its predestined goal. Every step in progress will then become a real condition precedent to further progress. Mankind will at last emancipate themselves from the causes of their misery and suffering. The salvation of mankind is through rational dialectics.

28. We thus see that the materialist conception of history is organically bound up with dialectics; the former is the material aspect, and the latter is the ideal aspect, of the process of human existence. We must grasp and understand both aspects to understand the process of human existence. We now see the reason why present society and all its institutions will pass away, and a new society with new institutions will come into existence. We now see that this will come to pass in accordance with the infinite, eternal and universal order of existence. This order of existence, in the case of human existence, realizes itself through definite means. The reconstruction of society from the state of capitalism into the state of socialism-communism will be effected through definite means. And the question arises: through what means will the process of human existence reconstruct society from the state of capitalism into the state of socialism-communism? The answer is: The means for this purpose is the working class. This brings us to the consideration of the historic function of the working class.

THE HISTORIC FUNCTION OF THE WORKING CLASS

29. Ancient society was not, and modern society is not, a human society, because in both societies man was and is enslaved by material necessity, and a slave is not a man. Human society will come into existence only then when mankind will emancipate themselves from the sway of material necessity, and they will consciously and rationally regulate their relations to existence and to one another. But the emancipation of mankind can come only through the emancipation of the proletariat. The emancipation of the proletariat is the absolute condition precedent to the emancipation of mankind from material slavery and social evils. Societies may come and go, but, so long as the proletariat remains unemancipated, so long will mankind remain slaves to material necessity and will suffer from social evils. The hope of mankind rests entirely on the emancipation of the proletariat. Therefore, the emancipation of the proletariat should be the supreme aim of mankind. What is the proletariat, and from what is it to be emancipated?

30. The proletariat is the class of proletarians. A proletarian is a worker divested of all property-rights to the land, the means of production and the conditions of production, so that he is compelled to sell his labor-power in order to exist. The one that buys the labor-power of the proletarian is a capitalist, and the compensation which the proletarian receives for his labor is called wages. Wages are an unnatural and irrational mode of compensation; for, while the wages seem to be an adequate compensation to the proletarian for his labor, in fact it is paying him only for a small fraction of what he has produced, and the rest is appropriated by the capitalist and all others that are bound up with the capitalist class. The system in which the proletarians are compensated for their labor with wages is called the wages-system, and the wages-system is the basis of capitalism. Where-

ever the wages-system exists there is capitalism. Abolish the wages-system, and capitalism disappears.

31. From what is the proletariat to emancipate itself? It is to emancipate itself from its social position as proletariat; it must destroy itself as proletariat and become a working class. The proletariat can emancipate itself through the emancipation of labor itself. In ancient society and in modern society labor was and is held in contempt, it is degraded, it is exploited, and it is regarded as unworthy of man. All through the past men and women have done their utmost to free themselves from the necessity to labor; they sold their soul, their mind and their body, only that they should not labor. Original sin and a primordial curse were attached to labor. And the laborer shared the contempt, the degradation and the exploitation of labor. Labor must be emancipated from this historic tragedy, it must be raised to the dignity worthy of man, so that man should find it his highest dignity and greatest need to labor, to create and to produce. Only then when labor and the laborer will be emancipated from this historic tragedy, only then will mankind be emancipated from the material society and enter into human society. When this is accomplished, then the workers will own, use and enjoy the earth and all the means of production and the means of life. Every worker will have an absolute and inalienable property-right, in common with all other workers, to the earth and all the means of production and the means of life. Then the law of human existence will be: from every one according to his ability, unto every one according to his needs.

32. How will the proletariat emancipate itself? It will emancipate itself through its conscious, rational and organized effort, and in this manner the proletariat will cooperate with the process of human existence and realize the destiny of mankind. Mankind are predestined to emancipate themselves from all slavery, degradation, exploitation and suffering, and this will be realized through the emancipation of the proletariat. This idea we must now make clear and concrete. At the outset we must distinguish the proletariat from the working class. We saw before that the

proletariat is the class of proletarians, and that a proletarian is a worker divested of the means and the conditions of labor, so that he is compelled to sell his labor-power in order to exist. But, while the proletarian is a worker, not all workers are proletarians. There are many workers that, to some extent, do own the means and the conditions of labor. These workers sell, not their labor-power, but their products. In a country in which capitalism is highly developed, the number of such workers is comparatively small, while the number of proletarians is great; on the other hand, in a country in which capitalism is little developed, the number of independent workers is greater than the number of proletarians. Since the proletarians are workers, they belong to the working class; but, though the proletariat is part of the working class, they are not identical: they have different attitudes to the social problems and they have different historic functions to perform. We must bear this distinction in mind, to understand the revolutionary transformation of society from the state of capitalism into the state of socialism-communism.

33. In the Communist Manifesto we are told: "Of all classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie to-day, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product. The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history . . . All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air." Thus we learn that only the proletariat is revolutionary; the non-proletarian workers are not revolutionary. The

transformation of society from capitalism into socialism-communism is a revolutionary process, and this process can be performed only through a revolutionary class, and that class is the proletariat. By the law of dialectics, the proletariat that was most negated by capitalist society will be the means for the negation of capitalist society itself. The proletariat, by abolishing the wages-system and capitalism that rests on the wages-system, will also abolish itself as the proletariat and will become workers, human beings. This is the historic function of the proletariat. But this function the proletariat cannot perform without the co-operation and assistance of the rest of the working class. And here the distinction between the proletariat and the working class becomes apparent. Since the proletariat alone is revolutionary, it must be the spear-head of the revolution: the rest of the working class are to be the body of the spear. And here we come to the consideration of a very important aspect of the matter.

34. In the Communist Manifesto we are told again: "the first step in the revolution by the working class, is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy. The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the proletariat organized as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible." And in the Criticism of the Gotha Program Marx tells us: "Between the capitalist and the communist systems of society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. This corresponds to a political transition period, whose State can be nothing else but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat." We thus see the idea of Marx. The proletariat alone is a revolutionary class; the non-proletarian workers are not revolutionary. But in its revolutionary function the proletariat needs the co-operation and help of the whole working class. Though the non-proletarian workers are by nature conservative, yet when the revolutionary situation becomes acute, then even the non-revolu-

tionary workers become revolutionary. They then join the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. But even then it is the task of the working class to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to help the proletariat to establish its revolutionary dictatorship, and to assist the proletariat in its further socialization of the modes of production and distribution. When all external and internal opposition has been removed, then the proletariat abolishes itself as the proletariat, that is, it ceases to be a proletariat; then all classes disappear, and a new society rises resting on the common ownership and use of the earth and all means of production and means of life. Mankind become united into one brotherhood of man, and all classes and class struggles disappear. And this brings us to a difficult problem.

35. Without the aid of the whole working class the proletariat cannot raise itself to the position of ruling class; the whole working class will help the proletariat to become the ruling class. Then the question arises: is a dictatorship of the proletariat possible? There are two aspects to this question: one pertaining to the proletariat itself, and the other pertaining to the whole working class. We will consider these aspects in the order stated. We saw that the proletariat is the class of proletarians, and that a proletarian is a worker divested of the means of production and the conditions of production. When through a revolution and with the help of the whole working class the proletariat rises to the position of ruling class, does it still remain a proletariat? Since the proletariat is now the ruling class, since it now owns and controls the land and all means of production and of life, it is no longer a class of proletarians, and its rule cannot be called a dictatorship of the proletariat, for there is no longer a proletariat. Again, what will become of the former non-proletarian workers who cooperated with the revolutionary proletariat in the revolution and helped the proletariat to become the ruling class, will these former non-proletarian workers retire into the background and leave to the former proletariat to monopolize all power of dictatorship and of control? This is impossible, and there is no historic precedent for this. Is there any reason why

the former non-proletarian workers, so indispensable in the revolutionary struggle, should now retire to the background and leave the former proletarians to be the sole rulers and dictators? See what happened in Russia. The non-proletarian workers and non-workers participated in the revolutionary struggle; and, when the former regime was overthrown, not only did not the former non-proletarians retire into the background but rather they came to the foreground and occupied the most prominent and most important position in the dictatorship established by the victorious revolutionaries. Lenin, Trotsky, and the rest of the leaders were not even workers, and yet they became the principal rulers. Since the non-proletarian workers are indispensable in the revolutionary struggle, are they not equally indispensable in the dictatorship? Since during the transition period a dictatorship is inevitable, it is and will have to be a dictatorship of the working class, and not merely a dictatorship of the proletariat. Hence, the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible, and it is a misnomer. Are we here quibbling about words? We shall presently see that this is not a mere quibble about words, but it raises a very important question that will affect the whole philosophy of the revolutionary reconstruction of society.

36. From the Paris Commune Marx crystallized a political idea of transcendent significance, namely: *when the working class comes into power, it cannot use the capitalist State for its own purposes; but the working class must destroy the capitalist State and create a state of its own.* This was a very significant idea. We saw that a material form cannot change. If life requires a different form, it destroys the old form and then assumes a new form. The State is the material form of the social life of mankind. The capitalist State is the material form of capitalist society. This State cannot be used by the victorious working class for the purposes of building up socialism-communism. Hence, the first thing that the victorious working class is to do is to destroy the capitalist State and create a State of its own, which State, during the transition period, can be nothing else than the dictatorship of the working class. This idea crystallized by Marx

from the Paris Commune made the Russian revolution so phenomenally successful: without this idea, Lenin, like Kerensky, would be groping in the dark, and in the end would lose the revolution. But, while future enlightened mankind will forever be grateful to Marx for this idea, Marx failed to crystallize another complementary idea, namely: *when the working class comes into power, it cannot use the capitalist mode of production for its own purposes; but the working class must first destroy the capitalist mode of production and establish a workers' mode of production; it must abolish the mode of production for profit, and establish the mode of production for use.* In other words, it must abolish the wages-system, Marx was bound to crystallize this complementary idea, for the political idea can rest only on this economic idea. According to Marx, the mode of production determines the political superstructure. Now, it will be said: it is impossible at once to abolish the wages-system and establish a mode of production for use. This is true, but it is equally true that it is impossible at once to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat. In Russia the dictatorship of the proletariat was only in name; in fact, the dictatorship was *over* the proletariat. But this was inevitable. Notwithstanding this, the mere idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, though only as a potential reality to be realized in the course of time, has already changed the whole aspect of the matter. It was this idea that made the Russian revolution a great historic achievement, and it was this idea that sustained Russia until now. It is so with the economic idea. Like the political idea, it will remain for some time a mere potential idea, yet as an idea it would change the aspect of the matter. If Marx would have made the discovery of this economic complementary idea, then, instead of speaking of a dictatorship of the proletariat, we would be now speaking of a dictatorship of the working class. A dictatorship of the proletariat implies the existence of a proletariat; it implies the wages-system; it implies exploitation; it implies a servile, dependent and degraded proletariat. On the other hand, a dictatorship of the working class implies the abolition of the proletariat, the aboli-

tion of the wages-system, the abolition of exploitation; it implies a free and independent working class. If this idea had been crystallized by Marx, then the course of the Russian revolution would, indeed, have been towards socialism-communism. We saw before that, by the law of rational dialectics, things change their nature and real progress is made. If the revolutionary movement of the proletariat is to be progressive and succeed in the revolutionary reconstruction of society from capitalism into socialism-communism, the proletariat, in the revolutionary struggle, will have to change its nature and attitude; from proletarians they will have to become workers. When they thus change their nature, they will establish a dictatorship of the working class, and not a dictatorship of the proletariat. A dictatorship of the proletariat can be nothing else than a dictatorship over the proletariat, but a dictatorship of the working class is the rule of the working class directed in a rational manner towards the revolutionary reconstruction of society. Hence, the famous statement of Marx must be changed to read as follows: *Between the capitalist and the communist systems of society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. This corresponds to a political transition period, whose State can be nothing else but the revolutionary dictatorship of the working class.*

37. We saw that the proletariat is the embodiment of all negations and therefore it is its historic function to negate the cause of its own negation. This is in accordance with the laws of rational dialectics. This brings to the fore another aspect of the matter. In what consists the negation of the proletariat? In his Criticism of Hegel's Philosophy of Law, Marx says: The proletariat is a class of bourgeois society, and yet is not a class of bourgeois society, for the proletariat has no property, it has no property rights, it has no political rights, and has no social standing. The proletariat is a rank which is the dissolution of all ranks: whosoever belongs to the proletariat is below all ranks. The proletariat is a sphere which possesses a universal character through its universal suffering; it is a class which does not rely

upon any historic title, because it has no historic title to anything. The proletariat is a sphere which cannot emancipate itself, without emancipating itself from all other spheres, and with it also emancipating all other spheres of society. The proletariat is the total loss of man, and therefore through the regaining of man can it regain itself. The proletariat is the embodiment of all dissolution of society, it is therefore the function of the proletariat to dissolve this society. The proletariat is the embodiment of all negations of present society, therefore it is its historic function to negate present society. The bourgeoisie, by creating the proletariat, created its own gravediggers. The fall of the bourgeoisie and the victory of the proletariat are both equally inevitable. This reveals to us only the negative aspect of the proletariat. But there is also a positive aspect of the proletariat. Existence is based upon the law of equivalence: there is a *quid pro quo*. The proletariat was historically deprived of all social and human rights and turned into a tool, but for this history endowed the proletariat with a faculty and a function infinitely superior to those enjoyed by all other classes. What this faculty and its function is we shall presently see.

38. When we reflect on all human progress, we perceive that all human progress was conceived in evil: if there were no evil in human existence, there would have been no human progress. Men were deprived by human nature of the material means of life. This was an evil, but this evil compelled men to enter into the social state and to cooperate with one another. This gave birth to language, knowledge, industry, art and science. Men suffered from sickness. This was an evil, but this evil compelled men to study their body and life generally. This gave birth to the numerous sciences connected with medicine and life. And so it was in all other directions. What is true of mankind generally is equally true of the proletariat in particular. The proletariat is the complete negation of man: it is Prometheus rivetted to the rock of material necessity, there to be constantly tortured; it is the Jesus crucified on the cross of exploitation, there to die as man. Such was the terrible fate of the proletariat; but for

this it was compensated by a faculty which will eventually emancipate it from all torture and crucifixion. "Nevertheless I say unto you: hereafter shall ye see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming through the clouds of heaven." The son of man—this is the proletariat; the proletariat is not the son of kings, of rulers, of distinguished men; but is merely the son of man, without titles, without distinguishing marks, just plain man. This son of man will come into power and rule. How will he come to power? By the light of explicit reason, for the proletariat is predestined, in compensation for all negations, to be the class to attain to explicit reason. Like reason, the proletariat was the last to appear on the historic stage. Like reason, the proletariat is transcendental in nature, universal in scope, and architectonic in function. It is transcendental, because the proletariat does not own any country, or state or land; its kingdom is not of the limited and individualistic. The historic function of the proletariat is to raise mankind above the state of nature, above the level of the beast and above the necessity to struggle in beastly manner for the means of life. Like reason, the proletariat is universal and pro-social. The historic task of the proletariat is to abolish all classes, class-divisions and class-struggles, and to unify the whole human race into one universal brotherhood of man. Like reason, the proletariat is architectonic. Its historic function is to coordinate all social faculties and functions, to lead them to cooperation and mutual aid, so that mankind may readily submit to the light and guidance of reason. Like reason, the proletariat was the last to appear on the historic stage, but it will emerge from the struggle and, like reason, become the first in power and in importance. Until now the proletariat, like reason, was made to serve all other classes of society; but the time is near at hand when the proletariat will emancipate itself from this servitude, become free and with its own freedom free all of mankind. When the proletariat will have accomplished its historic function, then all faculties of society will become perfectly identified with the proletariat. All will become workers, labor will be raised to the highest dignity,

and all men will rejoice in work and in creation. It is the historic function of the proletariat to redeem mankind of the original sin and the primordial curse. *In the sweat of thy brow, shalt thou eat thy bread*, instead of being a curse, as it has been until now, it will become the highest blessing. Men will rejoice to eat their bread in the sweat of their brow.

39. Marx says: "As philosophy finds in the proletariat its material weapon, so the proletariat finds in philosophy its spiritual weapon; and as soon as the lightning of thought strikes fundamentally into the naive popular ground, the emancipation of Man will be consummated. The head of the emancipation is philosophy, its heart is the proletariat. Philosophy cannot be realized without the rising of the proletariat, and the proletariat cannot rise without the realization of philosophy." But philosophy is the language of reason. It is reason that is the head of the emancipation, and the proletariat is its heart. Only in the proletariat will reason become explicit first, and through the proletariat will reason become explicit in the rest of mankind. The salvation of mankind rests entirely upon the emancipation of the proletariat, and the first condition precedent to all this emancipation is to bring to the proletariat the light of reason, to make of the proletarians explicitly rational human beings. What Marx tells us is also told us in the Bible. We are told there: No shrub of the field was yet in the earth, and no herb of the field had yet sprung up, for Jehovah-Elohim had not yet caused rain to come upon the earth, and there was not a man to till the ground. The world had been created, all living beings had been created, and finally also man was created. Mankind increased, multiplied and spread over the face of the earth, but mankind were like beasts: their activities were destructive rather than constructive. Hence, though the earth had been infinitely endowed, man converted it into a desert. The laborers were reduced to proletarians; they were degraded, exploited and enslaved. At last Jehovah Elohim began to realize the predetermined destiny of mankind. For this purpose Jehovah-Elohim did not go to the kings, the rulers, the philosophers, the statesmen and leaders in

industry and commerce; but went to the proletariat, the dust of the earth. Out of the proletariat, the dust of the earth, Jehovah-Elohim formed and perfected the new man, the superman. Jehovah-Elohim breathed into the nostrils of this new man a *neshomoh*, a living soul; this living soul is explicit reason, and this new man became a rational, active and creative being. Then a transformation took place. The earth which until then was desolated now became the Garden of Eden, and it brought forth plants and trees pleasant to sight and good for food; also in the midst of this garden grew the tree of life and the tree of knowledge. This new man was placed in this Garden of Eden, to work it and to preserve it. Thus the Bible announces the destiny of mankind, and this destiny will be realized through the self-emancipation of the proletariat. All past history was only a preparation for this human, rational and happy existence. All men will gladly work and they will freely enjoy the full fruit of their labor. The tree of life—this is the proletariat. The tree of life is bound up with the tree of knowledge. When the tree of knowledge is separated from the tree of life, the tree of knowledge becomes the tree of death. Until now mankind separated the tree of knowledge from the tree of life; the intellectually and spiritually cultured separated themselves from the proletariat. This brought death upon mankind: man died, and he became a beast or a mere tool. When the proletariat comes into power, then the tree of knowledge will be reunited with the tree of life; the intellectual and spiritual functions will be united with the physical functions of life. There will no longer be a separation between the intellectual worker and the physical laborer, for all will be cultured intellectually and spiritually, and all will work physically. Thus the death of man will come to an end. Man will be resurrected, and then he will continue to live as man forever. One that wants to identify himself with the tree of life must identify himself with the proletariat, work with the proletariat, struggle with it, and together with it earn the right to enter into the Garden of Eden, the kingdom of heaven on earth.

40. Marx speaks of the revolutionary transformation of so-

ciety. That society may pass from capitalism into socialism-communism, there must be a revolutionary transformation. First the transformation must be revolutionary; that is, it must come through a revolution: through reform measures it cannot come. The material form of capitalist society must be destroyed, for this form cannot be used for a higher society, a human society. Form is the essence of things and it is the essence of society; to change the essence of society, its form must be changed. Ancient society and modern society was and is an inhuman society, and this must be destroyed. Secondly, the destruction of present society is not enough; in its place a human society must be built up. Present society can be destroyed by natural dialectics. Indeed, it will be destroyed by the capitalists themselves. In their endeavor to perpetuate this inhuman and irrational society, the capitalists will involve this society in world wars and world revolutions, which will destroy present society. Hence, the destruction of the present capitalist society must be left to the capitalists themselves, and they will do this work of destruction most thoroughly. This will be the work of natural dialectics. But the destruction of present society and the bringing out of a new society does not yet mean a transformation of society. Natural dialectics destroys the seed that a plant may come out of the seed, and then it destroys the plant that many other seeds may come out of the plant; but the resulting many seeds are like the first seed: there is no transformation, no progress. That the new society may be a higher society than the present society is, there must be a complete transformation of society: society must become a human, rational society. This is the historic task of the proletariat. When the impending world wars and world revolutions have destroyed present society and the proletariat has come to power, it will then be the function of the proletariat to take society in hand, change its form and nature, and direct all social evolution towards socialism-communism. But the proletariat can perform its historic function only through rational dialectics, through explicit reason and self-consciousness. Hence, the historic function of the proletariat is, not to destroy the pres-

ent society, for this is the historic function of the capitalist class itself; but it is the historic function of the proletariat to build the new society upon the basis of rational dialectics. For this purpose the proletariat must prepare itself with knowledge and understanding. And, to help the proletariat acquire knowledge and understanding, the Labor Party has come into existence. It is the aim of the Labor Party to organize the proletariat for this historic function. *The principal function of the Labor Party is intellectual and spiritual.* When the Labor Party will grow and develop and its membership will increase, then it will be time to formulate a definite plan for practical work. Thus we come to the fore to participate in the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and to partake in the process of human existence.

